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Henry S. Gifford

SOME

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

ON

MATTERS OF PUBLIC INTEREST

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

Municipal Government of San Francisco.

BY E. R. HIGHTON.

"RESPICE FINEM."

-SAN FRANCISCO:

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P R E F A T O R Y.

THE following observations were originally intended for publication in one of our local newspapers, but, when completed, it was found difficult to divide them into articles of suitable length, and various friends of the writer, deeply interested in the public welfare, requested him to give them to the public in their present form. In yielding to this request, after gratefully acknowledging the kind partiality which prompted it, the writer cannot refrain from saying to those who may read these pages, that, while deeply sensible of the weakness of his best efforts in behalf of the objects to which they relate, he may at least claim that they are animated by no other motive than the public good, and that they embody the results of considerable experience and reflection, and, therefore, he ventures to indulge the hope that they may be not altogether unproductive of benefit.

SAN FRANCISCO, February 10th, 1866.

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

ON

MATTERS OF PUBLIC INTEREST, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF SAN FRANCISCO.

THE general attention and scrutiny which are now being directed to the organization and management of various departments of our local government, seem to invite criticism of the system upon which it rests, and indicate the present as an opportune season to offer a few remarks more especially applicable to some of its executive branches. Whatever these observations may be worth, they can do no harm, and it may not be altogether a waste of time, for citizens and taxpayers to consider suggestions which are at least disinterested, and are prompted only by a desire for the public good. It is prudent under all conditions, and especially in a new community, to avail ourselves of whatever intelligence or experience it may contain, in resolving those social and civic questions which involve the material and moral well-being—the security and happiness, of the existing generation and of posterity.

The extent to which the intellectual and virtuous

forces in a community are conserved and utilized by any system of government, may be taken as the measure of its probable efficiency in securing the public good, and that organization as most perfect which secures to regenerative influences the fullest and freest exercise in counteracting the selfishness and avarice in which so many social crimes have their foundations, and in superinducing moral order and harmony upon the incongruous and refractory elements which conflict with the peace and happiness of the community. A perfect model of political and social organization may yet be far out of reach, if it be ever attainable; but to that ideal every system of government ought to tend, by the use of all the means at its disposal. All educational training of the young, the system of rewards and punishments, legislative encouragements, and executive restraints, should be directed to this high purpose, however difficult or distant its accomplishment may be. Whatever the discouragements, the pursuit of the perfect ideal should never be forgotten or abandoned

"Till each man finds his own in all men's good,
And all men work in noble brotherhood."

A vain theorism and reliance upon some inherent and spontaneous ingenuity within the community, which is supposed to be always ready and competent to improvise agencies for the regulation of public affairs, without the aid of experience, or of extraneous information, is one prolific source of error in the formation or

improvement of plans of government, whether general or local. This self-sufficiency is unreasonable and foolish; the oldest communities in the civilized world are and have lately been actively engaged in obtaining information from each other, as to their mutual experience in solving those social problems which are constantly embarrassing their progress. By references to statistics and interchange of practical knowledge on this subject, through intelligent agents, they are seeking to deduce, from an analysis and comparison of carefully-observed phenomena, a "social science," whose principles may serve as guides in the art of social government. Not only the health and comfort, but the very existence of society, especially in large towns and cities, was threatened by complications of evils which had been developed during the progress of civilization, through ignorance and neglect of general laws; and these governments were therefore impelled, by the strongest motives, to seek for information on this subject from all sources, whether foreign or domestic, to guide them in the application of remedies. *A priori* reasoning was altogether incompetent, and searching investigations, acute observation of social phenomena under various conditions, with a rigid analysis of the facts obtained, resulted in exposing the fallacy of many a hoary precedent, and created astonishment by the number of startling paradoxes which were revealed in the art of social management. It was found, for example, that severity of punishments did not diminish crime;

that monopolies and restrictions in trade invariably defeated their objects ; that property had duties as well as rights, which would be enforced by the operation of a general law, and that no amount of wealth could purchase immunity from the penalty attached to the neglect of this law ; that public morals were scarcely influenced by sanitary conditions and material comforts, than by direct moral and religious instruction, etc., etc.

If the peculiar circumstances of any community would justify and require a careful and prudent eclecticism in its social organization and government, our condition, with its cosmopolitan population, which has to be moulded and welded together, and developed into a unity in harmony with the political ideas of the nation and the age, makes it an absolute necessity.

In a country and a city where there are such constant accessions of population from the older communities of Europe, it would seem to be a wise policy to investigate and, where advisable, apply the methods which European Governments have found necessary to check the demoralizing tendencies inherent in all large communities, and which, like the rebound of a spring when pressure is withdrawn, become more manifest and salient in proportion as they are relieved of the surveillance and freed from the restraints to which they had been accustomed.

These older countries had to contend with the ramified consequences of former errors and ignorance, which, being general and simultaneously in operation,

in most civilized communities, afforded them no examples to improve by, except those terrible lessons of disease and crime which, in fact, compelled the earnest scrutiny of their social organization and practices which has latterly, and is now, occupying those communities.

We are more favorably placed. We have their experience—their errors and sufferings—before us, with the enormous cost of their remedial measures, and the knowledge of the extent of their success or failure, to warn and guide us; and we shall be proportionately responsible, and our punishment will be the more severe, if we neglect these very plain intimations. Especially in this newest of large cities, ought we to aim at developing, by a ready and discreet use of whatever knowledge we can obtain, by a jealous scrutiny of our own practice, and, in short, by every means in our power, an elevated and liberal society, for which the character of our population, and our geographical and topographical position, afford so many advantages.

As what is commonly called “independence,” “individuality,” “manhood,” etc., with many other kindred virtues, may be exaggerated into absolute vices, engendering intense pride and selfishness in individuals, so a rigid and exclusive autonomy in a state or community may likewise create ideas of superiority and a self-sufficiency which, in refusing to obtain benefits by an imaginary sacrifice of dignity, impedes the natural development of society, and has to suffer for its folly in

the reproduction of social and political disorders which have cost other countries so dearly, but which newer communities could avoid if they would attend to those lessons of experience that a watchful and beneficent providence has graven for our instruction, in indelible characters and bold relief, on the tables of social history.

The duty of earnestly seeking and thankfully receiving, as well as imparting, whatever ideas experience or our intuitions may furnish for the general benefit and progress of the human race, is clearly suggested by the very constitution of our nature and society. Our gregarious instincts and mutual sympathies clearly indicate, that in knowledge, as in charity, "we cannot live to ourselves alone." And what is so clearly pointed out by nature is positively enjoined in the precepts and life of Him "who went about doing good."

This preliminary discussion may seem too abstract and extensive in its range for its comparatively limited application to mere local questions.

But let any one inquire and reflect, and it will perhaps appear that a contumacious disregard of the teachings of social phenomena, especially as they are presented in the experience and practice of older countries, whose political institutions may be, to some extent, repugnant to our ideas, but nevertheless constitute the root from which our system has sprung, has been at the bottom of much of the rash empiricism which has failed to recognize or establish those more

efficient measures for the prevention of social crimes and abuses, and for the advancement of moral progress, which an intelligent and liberal eclecticism would have discovered and suggested. For instance; in the methods of secondary punishments, the prevention and repression of crime, police and prison discipline, and correlative institutions, such as reformatories and other auxiliary means. Though many years ago, in the United States, prison discipline was discussed with much animation, and the discussion excited considerable attention in Europe, inducing France and England to send intelligent and experienced men to examine and report upon the two rival systems, and which has led to further improvements upon these systems in the prisons of the older countries, there does not appear to have been the same degree of progress in this country; indeed, attention to the subject seems to have greatly declined since that period. However, whatever further improvements or modifications may have occurred in the Eastern States, it is only necessary, in this State, to refer to the history and condition of our State and County Prisons, to perceive that here we adopt plans "to suit ourselves," without regard to models or experience.

In the management of our State Prison, as formerly in that of many of the prisons of the older States, according to the "reports," two fundamental errors may be perceived, and to which, indeed, may be traced many of our social and governmental mistakes. 1st.

A constant reference to a popular estimate of the apparent and immediate cost of any system without adequate regard to its ultimate effects, either on morals or finances. 2d. A hasty and impulsive adoption of means to ends in which passion and prejudice are often too influential. The former has induced an exaggerated notion of the "paying" capacity of these institutions. This has led to farming out the prison labor, which, it requires no reasoning to show, must to a great extent interfere with and neutralize the effect of any proper system of discipline, while it is of more than doubtful economy to the public, however beneficial it may be to the individuals who have sufficient influence to procure the contracts. The inculcation of habits of industry, and the utmost amount of profit from the labor of the prisoners, is in no way objectionable, but highly praiseworthy, and is beneficial no less to the prisoner than to the public finances; but it should be accomplished under the exclusive direction of officers responsible for and interested in the enforcement of the discipline, and be so regulated as to subserve these higher objects.

The other error referred to has manifested itself in leaving to subordinate officers the power to inflict corporal punishment, a practice quite subversive of the true ends of penal discipline, and which was emphatically condemned by the European visitors referred to, and also in repeated passages in the reports of the "Boston Prison Discipline Society." This practice

arose, no doubt, in the same unreasoning impulsive-ness, adopting the most obvious means to an end, without reflection on consequences. This custom in many prisons in the Union has been strictly regulated or abolished altogether. In our own State Prison, however, according to a recent report of an "eye witness," it still exists.

For information on these points, see M. Beaumont and De Tocqueville's, and Mr. Crawford's Reports; the reports of the "Boston Prison Discipline Society," and a report in the S. F. *Bulletin* of a recent outbreak at the State Prison of California.

In contrast with our own State Prison, where repeated outbreaks and escapes attest the inefficiency of the discipline, a portion of the history of one of the largest prisons in Great Britain, during a period of eight years, may be cited as illustrating the inference sought to be established. In this prison the buildings were utterly inadequate to the accommodation of the numbers it constantly contained, the prisoners having to sleep three in a cell, generally. The inmates were principally of the very worst and most depraved class of criminals, and the prison was in a state of chronic disorder — almost amounting to mutiny — at the commencement of that period, and large numbers of prisoners were constantly kept in irons. Yet, by the steady and firm application of a much milder discipline than had previously prevailed, all violent disorder was almost immediately checked. During the whole period

there was not an escape ; after the second year there was seldom a refractory prisoner, and not a single prisoner was placed in irons. With every disadvantage, the calm, but vigilant and firm, administration of a mild system of discipline, was successful in establishing and preserving submission and order ; and, moreover, with the aid of a supplementary voluntary agency, many of the unfortunate inmates were restored to habits of industry and sobriety, a result as beneficial to the community in an economical as in a moral point of view.

In the prisons of Great Britain corporal punishment for prison offenses is seldom resorted to, and can only be inflicted by two of the visiting Justices after a full examination of the charges under oath. Neither the governor of the prison, nor any of his officers, are permitted to whip or strike a prisoner.

Our methods of attempting the reform of juvenile delinquents will supply further illustrations of this habit of indifference to the improvements made in foreign systems for this most important object. On this subject, of late years, there has been a constant interchange of experience between European countries, which has resulted in a unanimous concurrence in the superiority of what is called the "Family System," which originated in a very humble effort of a good and benevolent man at Horn, near to Hamburg in Germany. Its efficiency has been proved beyond all doubt on a large scale at Mettray, in France, at Red

Hill, and other reformatories, in Great Britain, and in various similar institutions in Belgium, Prussia, and other European countries; but, though it was recommended in the strongest terms by Horace Mann, and warmly eulogized by Mr. Colman, the agriculturist, and other intelligent Americans who witnessed it in operation, it has failed to approve itself in the United States, though it is well known that our reform schools can make no comparison, for instance, with that at Mettray, in France, where the permanent reformatations amount to an average of eighty-five per cent. on the admissions.

The following extract from a paper read by "Mary Carpenter," one of the most prominent and active promoters of the reform movement in Great Britain, at the annual meeting of the "Association for the Promotion of Social Science," in 1862, is pertinent to this subject.

"* * It is our present object to consider what are
 "the principles which enabled Her Majesty's Inspector
 "to make the following important statement, which
 "was quoted by the Commissioners: 'I am brought,
 "'therefore,' says he, (Report, 1859-60, p. 16) 'to the
 "'conclusion, that the marked decline which can be
 "'traced during the last four years in that juvenile
 "'delinquency which was spreading so much previ-
 "'ously, has resulted from the operation of the Acts
 "'of 1854 and 1855, and that the principles which
 "'these statutes recognized, and which have ever since

“ ‘been so steadily carried out, may be safely relied on
 “ ‘as the tried instruments for the repression and pre-
 “ ‘vention of juvenile crime.’ ”

“ The first principle in the reformatory movement
 “ was the establishment and management of the
 “ schools by voluntary agencies. This was strongly
 “ insisted on by numerous witnesses before the Par-
 “ liamentary Committee, and with a clear recognition
 “ of it our first act opened: ‘Whereas, reformatory
 “ ‘schools for the better training of juvenile offenders
 “ ‘have been and may be established by voluntary con-
 “ ‘tributions in various parts of Great Britain, and it is
 “ ‘expedient that more extensive use should be made
 “ ‘of such institutions: be it enacted,’ etc. The State
 “ stands in *loco parentis* to these juvenile offenders,
 “ and entrusts the proper training and teaching of
 “ them to those who voluntarily undertake the charge,
 “ that they may restore these young persons to society
 “ as fit members of it.” * * * * *

* * * * * “ The second essential principle of our
 “ work is, that the schools should approach as nearly as
 “ possible to the family system. On this principle was
 “ established and successfully developed the Rauhen
 “ Haus in Germany, and Mettray in France, the two
 “ prototypes to whose successes we mainly owe our
 “ own. No school can indeed fully take the place to
 “ children of a good family, such as the Creator in-
 “ tended for them; but we must endeavor as nearly as
 “ possible to observe the conditions on which it is
 “ founded.” * * * *

Our reformatories are, from some cause, not remarkable for their success. In one of the largest of the Eastern reformatories, the one at Westboro', Mass., there has been more than one outbreak, and it was disclosed that very brutal measures were often employed to enforce discipline. Whenever such means are necessary, it indicates a failure in any system of moral reformation.

The history of the establishment of our local "Reform," or "Industrial School," is an illustration of the tendency to improvise, without regard to experience. When that institution was about to be erected on an obsolete and vicious prison plan, recommended by a person who some long time previously had had a brief and remote connection with an Eastern institution of the kind, the Trustees were repeatedly warned of its defects, and the adoption of the "family system" was strongly urged upon them, but all without effect. The building was finished according to the plan, costing more than double what would have been necessary to establish the "family system," and it had to be remodeled. Its efficiency as a reformatory has been proportionate to the removal of these original defects, or as they have been neutralized by the zeal and capacity of the officers.

The "State Reform School," near Marysville, was located badly, for political reasons, and it was badly planned, and cost the State more than twice what was necessary, also for political reasons; and its results are

precisely what was predicted to the then Governor of the State. When an individual who took some interest in the institution had visited the partly-finished building, he inquired of one of the Trustees appointed to plan and superintend its erection and management, the use to which some of the rooms were to be applied. The Trustee answered, as one after another room was pointed out on the plan: "Oh, it's a boy's room." After this answer had been repeated several times, he was asked: "but for what specific purpose? — for a "school-room, or a dormitory, or what?" "Well, all "I know is, it's a boy's room. In fact," said he, "we "none of us knew much about it, and we just got up "a building with a sufficient number of rooms as we "thought to answer the purpose." "So, then," was the comment, "it might equally answer for a lunatic "asylum, or an agricultural college, or any other purpose," which was in reality the fact.

Before the appointment of these Trustees, there had been another commission and an architect paid to select a site and plan the institution. They were urged to adopt a plan suited to the family system, and were also furnished gratuitously and disinterestedly with a variety of practical suggestions, comprising a sketch of a design for the buildings and the outlines of a scheme for making the operations of the institution more effective through the agency of the officers of the common school department and police throughout the State, but they were all disregarded. A minority

report of the Committee of the Legislature recommended Benicia as a site for the school, which would certainly have been preferable to the one selected.

The three Trustees who finally superintended the erection of the building, of whom one was the architect, after expending twelve thousand, one hundred and twenty-one dollars, and sixty-four cents, in which their own salaries were included, end their report, dated Marysville, December 26th, 1860, as follows.

“ In order to finish a sufficient portion of the building to *start* the school, as above, to furnish the rooms, “ and to carry on the school until the meeting of the “ Legislature in 1862, we will require an appropriation “ of at least thirty thousand dollars.” So that altogether more money was required to “ start the school ” in an unfinished state, than would have sufficed upon the more humble but more efficient family system to have established a good institution for the whole State, including San Francisco.

But turning from these *ad captandem* examples of the mode in which the most vital social questions are sought to be solved in the State, to matters of more immediate and local interest, and reviewing the effects of our own municipal system of government generally, it is but too apparent that it has at least but very partially accomplished the purposes of its existence. Much that was desirable and practicable has been sacrificed at the shrines of political parties and selfish cliques, and the interests and the moral and

physical welfare of the community subordinated to designing and unscrupulous speculators and "operators." It would be useless were it possible to enumerate all the practical errors which have produced these evils. The more ostensible of them are generally appreciated, but there may perhaps be other and quite unsuspected causes for some of the failures in our system. The limitations of what is called the "Consolidation Act," which refer even the most minute details of our municipal government to the State Legislature, in direct opposition to the old Anglo-Saxon system of local self-government, which has proved its efficiency wherever it has been established among the various branches of that race, at once so practical and jealous of governmental interference, may be found to have materially interfered with the executive efficiency of the city government and possibly defeated its avowed economic objects. In depriving our local government of its legitimate powers, it does but remove any supposed corrupting influences to the "lobby" of the State Legislature, where schemes for individual profit, under color of benefit to the city, have been often successful; while, by such restrictions, we stultify ourselves and diminish the dignity of our own local representatives and officers, who, being thus treated without confidence in their ability or integrity, and consciously subject to suspicion and distrust, according to recognized principles of human nature, almost insensibly become less zealous and efficient.

As a safeguard against hasty legislation in matters of grave local importance, and such as are of general interest to the State, as well as the city, the intervention of the State Legislature may be useful, just as the acts of Congress limit the powers of State Government in matters pertaining to the entire Union; but to prescribe such a variety of minute details as the provisions of the Consolidation Act contain, is simply puerile. As an illustration, see Article II, entitled "Public Order and Police," where a number of minute regulations are prescribed that would be beneath the dignity of the Board of Supervisors, descending to even directing that a police officer shall be detailed to attend the Police Court daily. This is no solitary instance; it is characteristic of the entire act. In matters of finance and salaries, some checks are no doubt necessary, in certain cases, to prevent occult but potential local influences from causing extravagance; but, unless in very peculiar circumstances, such restrictions produce more injury than benefit. In the executive department, they must be entirely and positively mischievous. Whatever reasons may have existed in the earlier history of the city, when fraudulent schemes and stratagems often originated among its local authorities, for such minute supervision of our municipal affairs by the State, its continuance is a daily reproach. Unless we are altogether incapable of self-government, it is absurd to tie up the hands of public officers when matters of vast interest to the city might require

prompt and vigorous action. Besides, has not the Legislature in fact repeatedly legalized wholesale appropriations of city property, and passed act after act denuding her of her rights, and requiring her to pay unjust demands? and she could neither challenge the one, nor resist the other, without appropriations authorized by the Legislature, which would have been too late to be effective. Private subscription has had to be resorted to, to take even initiatory legal steps to secure her rights. For instance, when the question of the interpretation of the "Van Ness Ordinance," in its application to extensive claims of "outside lands," was in agitation, and an injunction had been sued out against the sale of a portion of a tract of one hundred and sixty acres in lots, but which was overruled by the Supreme Court, the authorities were advised upon the plain justice of the case, and in accordance with intimations in the very guarded phraseology of the Court, in its decision, to proceed directly in ejectment, and which, referring to its decision in the "Wolf Baldwin" case, and other rulings of the Supreme Court, would most probably have been successful; but the excuse for not trying this issue was, that the Board had no adequate means at its disposal, and must go to the Legislature, which would meet six months afterwards, when the property would have been sold to a number of hard-working citizens, who were deceived by the maneuvers of the speculative claimants to city lands. It is, doubtless, principally owing to such restrictions

on the discretionary power of the city authorities, that the pueblo suit has "hung" in the Courts for more than thirteen years. In fact, had the Consolidation Act been concocted by parties interested in defeating the city's title to these lands, or who were deeply concerned to secure the most favorable interpretation of the Van Ness Ordinance for the speculators, who had appropriated large tracts, to the injury of the tax-payers, and especially of poor and industrious citizens, that end could not have been more effectually accomplished — not even if the same active influences which led to the adoption of the *laissez faire* policy, on the occasion referred to, to the injury of the city and the encroachment of a few land-speculators, had presided over its preparation. The prosecution of the injunction suit had mainly to be paid for by subscriptions from private citizens. The consequences of this official impotence are not confined to these wholesale appropriations under the Van Ness Ordinance, and to cover which, without exciting public alarm, it was so vaguely and artfully worded; but the present condition of the remainder of the "pueblo lands" is a further illustration of the impolicy of such restrictions, or, in fact practically, prohibitions of the legitimate and necessary powers of our municipal officers. The right of the city to sufficient of her own land for a Public Park, and other municipal purposes, is openly challenged, unless she consents to pay for it, while the whole of this land is "appropriated" in large tracts, and lying

perfectly idle for the most part, as any one can ascertain by visiting it. Thus a few speculators have been permitted, under a system which makes interference almost impossible, absolutely to appropriate what belongs to every citizen, and which, if properly managed, would materially reduce taxation, besides subserving many other valuable objects in relation to public health and morals. In these instances, and in numerous others where frauds, which had been perpetrated upon the public during a period when the more intelligent classes of the community were too much occupied in their business to watch public events very narrowly, might have been successfully combated, these limitations of power prevented any effort in the interest of the city. It might almost seem as if this act was prepared and passed purposely to tie up the hands of the city officers, and prevent any legal exposure and opposition to frauds and schemes which had then reached their culminating point, and were no longer possible.

The suspicion of public officers, which is an aspersion on our form of government, and on the character of our citizens, but which was invoked and expatiated upon in order to pass this act, whose tendencies have been so generally misrepresented and misunderstood, has prevailed in other directions and produced an irregular and mischievous meddling in public affairs, which has been another injury to the city's interests. As an illustration, take the history of the settlement

of the city slip suits, where the prompt adoption of a very plain and inevitable policy would have saved the city half a million of dollars; and so with various other suits, which were prolonged through such irregular influences, under a foolish hesitation to accept and make the best of the consequences of former errors and neglects, and more from acute personal feelings of revenge at any expense, than from any reasonable expectations of obtaining better conditions for the city, and which intelligent officers, feeling their responsibilities and that they had the public confidence, would at once have perceived and acted on.

If we survey the condition of the public streets, or the crowded tenements, jammed together without regard to moral or sanitary results, which deface our city, what inferences are forced upon us of the effects of our system of local government with its obstructive State control, which has been so much applauded for its ostensive economy, but which will ultimately be found to be a very costly saving in small matters while entailing heavy permanent charges on the community, and at the expense of all the higher purposes of government.

It would not, perhaps, be expedient to adduce illustrations from the acts of public officers, but there would be no difficulty in showing that these minute restrictions are no real check upon frauds, or temporizing with their perpetrators, if officers are predisposed to such practices; and, in fact, such unwise interfer-

ences tend to create a disposition to take advantage of all opportunities to secure profit at the city's expense, and thus to produce the very results which they were professedly adopted to prevent. A volume might be filled with illustrations of the inefficiency of all such restraints upon public officers in comparison with immediate public observance, intelligent confidence, and the exaction of a strict accountability. Any citizen of San Francisco, who is acquainted with the details of its municipal history, will be at no loss for illustrations, while his common sense will suggest to him an infinite variety of modes by which these complicated and elaborate provisions could be evaded.

In commercial and other business, it is an axiom, that direct supervision and prompt action conduce to success, and without going into the details of the analogy, it may pertinently be asked: why should not the same rules apply to the management of public affairs, and what superiority of virtuous influences the State Legislature is likely to possess? It certainly cannot have an equal knowledge of our affairs with the local authorities, and the whole question being one of degree in relative powers, it would therefore seem unwise to reduce their legal capacity to the minimum amount under which organized social existence is possible. Finally, upon these preliminary considerations of elementary principles, it may be observed, in reference to this minute direction of details by the State Legislature, that it is calculated to diminish the elas-

ticity, promptitude, and zeal which give vitality and efficiency to any public service; and, being avowedly the result of a mean and suspicious public sentiment, it is apt to engender a perfunctory and stolid technical observance of rules, when a more liberal estimate of official character — giving wider discretion, though involving greater responsibility — would excite a zealous activity and a generous fidelity.

With regard to previous remarks upon the prevailing reluctance to make use of or indifference to all experiences applicable to our needs, and which, though coming from communities under different forms of government, may be none the less available by adaptation to our circumstances — social development and phenomena being regulated by invariable laws, under analogous conditions of race, habit, and locality, and which are scarcely affected by mere degrees of political freedom where the principles of popular representation and official responsibility are established, as in Great Britain, for instance — any prejudice against, or over-sensitive objections to, the use of such information, would seem to be a willful and absurd rejection of some of the chief methods developed in the progress of civilization, and intended by an all-wise Providence to increase the general happiness and prosperity of communities.

As regards the economical view of the question, a well-considered and liberally-organized system of municipal government, founded upon adequate knowl-

edge of principles, and directed to the highest ends, has ever been and always will be found in practice to secure the greatest amount of material prosperity ; just as in individual conduct, we find that intelligence in plan, energy in execution, and honesty in purpose, invariably secure success ; and these results are often more immediate than is generally supposed, as can be shown from a host of examples whose economical results allow of no dispute.

The public good, in its widest conception and most extensive application, is the only legitimate end of government, whether general or local ; and it must be remembered, that the freer the political institutions, the management of society for this object becomes relatively the more difficult. The complications of interests and potent influences become greater as individual liberty is increased, and, just as the restraints of virtue in individuals composing a community are necessary to preserve political freedom, so in the present conditions of society, and especially where it is so mixed and promiscuous as in this city, it is essential to its general interests that there should be stringent executive restraints upon the practices of the reckless and selfish elements of the community, which would use liberty as a cloak for licentiousness or greed. The main objects of any good system of popular government, then, being to attain the highest moral and physical conditions with the utmost practicable personal freedom, it behoves all virtuous citizens to ponder

deeply upon those executive means which experience and common sense show to be necessary to preserve order without the tyranny of official caprice, and liberty without abuse. These should be essential objects in all legislative and administrative action. But it is to the executive, and to such legislation as is requisite to give it efficiency, that these suggestions are mainly intended to apply. Direct moral means, whether through the agency of the school or the pulpit, belong to another, and perhaps more important, division of the varied influences which mould and control society.

Now, of the executive forces in a municipality, the police is paramount. Under despotic governments, the police is the most efficient instrument in asserting the *power* of the government, irrespective of the opinions of the community. In popular governments, it should be the principal agency in asserting the rights of the good against the acquisitiveness and violence of the bad. It should reflect the concentrated wisdom and virtue of the citizens, without which any free society will soon lose its coherence. An efficient police is therefore the prime desideratum of a good and liberal municipal government. It ought to enforce and conserve external morality and social order, protect life and property, and aid in securing those sanitary conditions on which the health and much of the morality of the community depend. Its scrutiny should penetrate every obscure haunt of vice, and its ramified observance detect and expose all social nuisances—

physical or moral. It should represent the municipal courtesy and attention to strangers, and its vigilant care over the lives and property of its citizens. In short, it should be a sort of municipal providence, everywhere watchful and active to promote the moral and material conditions, which are essential to the welfare and happiness of all the citizens, without respect to persons. It must be apparent, therefore, that in a free community, the police force should command the respect and confidence of all good and respectable citizens irrespective of their personal opinions, and consequently it should be removed, as far as possible, from political influences.

It is a common idea that the police are needed only for the detection of crime and the preservation of order in public thoroughfares; but, as the paid servants of the public, they ought, and in many places do, employ the vacant intervals of their time when on duty, which would otherwise be spent in listless loitering about the streets, in performing many other public services for the general benefit. And, in connection with this idea, we are now just about to establish a paid fire department, and it may very naturally be asked, why should not the police, or a portion of them, perform firemen's duty? Their duties are alike directed to the preservation of life and property, and the constant vigilant attention of the one would be advantageously available in securing the efficiency of the other department. Both have considerable intervals

of relaxation, for neither crimes or fires are continuous, and organization could secure that in any concurrence of events the public interests should be adequately protected. Of course, this arrangement would compel a large addition to the force, but that would supply extended protection which has been often demanded, and which is now paid for privately in many cases. If it should appear that such a measure would reduce the *total* expense which the community has now to bear for services which would be thus performed more efficiently, what good reason can there be for not attempting it? It is done with most decided advantage in other places that had entailed obstructions to such a systematic amalgamation of branches of the public service which we have not, and surely it is prudent to avoid at the outset of our municipal career, the establishment of a variety of distinct departments with the vested interests which have so often been found to embarrass and obstruct useful and necessary reforms in systems of popular local government. It is much easier to establish new departments than to abolish old ones whose ramified influences extend with their existence, as concurrent events are proving to us.

If it be objected that such a plan would lead to centralization and a too great concentration of power in the Chief of Police, that can easily be obviated by making him responsible to a popularly-appointed committee of citizens, removing both him and the force

from political influences, and so organizing the force that a system of mutual checks, by reports, etc., should countervail any such tendency, and so that the operations of the force should be more amenable to popular criticism, while securing due subordination within it. Efficient checks upon centralized power which despots accomplish by espionage, it has been proved by experience, can be attained in the executive branch of popular government by *organization*, which can so direct the exercise of this necessary individual power as to render its abuse impossible, unless under a most extraordinary and fortuitous combination of circumstances.

Our municipal police arrangements appear to be a sort of adaptation of the old Bow Street detective police, which seems to be its main characteristic, and a hybrid force composed of street patrols, special policemen, and private watchmen — the two latter elements being paid by subscriptions in certain neighborhoods and by companies or individuals. Such a conglomeration of parts of obsolete systems practically permits all the abuses of the old watch and detective systems, sheltered under the ostensible form of a modern civic street police. A detective force, in the present conditions of society, is perhaps necessary as an auxiliary reservoir of police astuteness, but it must nevertheless be classed among necessary evils, for it has been found to be a most efficient instrument of tyranny, and the means it uses to discover crime are but too apt to encourage the lowest forms of vice. Its

operations have therefore, under popular forms of government, been generally limited to tracing out political offenders and the perpetrators of those exceptional crimes which had been planned with unusual sagacity and executed with uncommon dexterity. The pompous mystery which artfully shrouded its operations in former days, to the terror of the simple and the exaggeration of its own importance, has long since been dissipated with many other professional mysteries which are now but subjects for ridicule along with the parochial Dogberries and Bumbles of a past age.

Special policemen are appointed by the Chief of Police, upon recommendations of citizens. They are paid by the citizens whose property they are engaged to protect, and they are liable to be called upon for other duty by the Chief on particular occasions. Many of them, or perhaps all, are allowed to act as detectives, and to receive gratuities which are forbidden to the regular police. But these men are in constant intercourse and contact with the regular police, practically acting with them, so that the prohibitions against *douceurs* could be very easily evaded. It must be borne in mind that it is the system that is being criticised, not the individuals, and that these men get their living by these means. The tendency of detective avocations is to deaden the finer sensibilities through constant contact with low grades of society, and we ought not to be surprised if pecuniary stimulants should sometimes reach the regular police through what they may

esteem a very innocent evasion of rules. This, of course, is only a possibility, and it could only be inferred from the superior success of their strategy in some cases to others where pecuniary inducements are of slight consequence compared to the extent of these and other influences which, on general principles, may be supposed to affect their conduct, under their present relations to the public. Here, unfortunately, we have entailed upon us, in consequence of peculiar social conditions in the early days of the city's history, an opulent but vulgar class, whose wealth has been principally derived, and is constantly increased, by illegal practices—keeping gaming houses, for example; and it is well known that all the efforts of the police have failed to suppress these practices. Every now and then we hear of “raids” upon suspected gambling establishments; but there are some of these places whose proprietors, by their superior sagacity or strategy of some sort, manage to escape such visitations and continue their lawless pursuits with impunity. It would be unjust to attribute these failures to positive mercenary complicity, on the part of the police, without full proof. Indifference or political relations would have a similar tendency; but these are some of the facts which form data from which to estimate the efficiency of our police arrangements.

In free and enlightened communities, modern police systems are devised more for the prevention of crime, by actual interposition, exploring its dark recesses,

and exposing its sources and wily planners, in contradistinction to the old detective system, which permitted its commission and then detected it, often by the agency of the dastardly and mercenary villains who, too frequently, suggested its commission, profiting directly in their share of the spoil, and indirectly by rewards from the police. Thus, in Liverpool, England, with a police force of one thousand and two men, there are only twenty-four detectives, or one to about every forty-two men. To the exposure of the inefficiency and abuses of the old systems, by advancing popular intelligence and careful collection of a wide and long experience, we are indebted for the institution of a regular municipal street police, pervading every part of towns and cities, and, if in older countries where criminality has become organized, and, by ingenuity and cunning, strives, *pari passu*, with police astuteness and activity, and where the "criminal classes" have become an important numerical element of populations, this system has efficiently superseded the old cat-like detective system, it is, *a priori*, applicable to our social condition to anticipate such unwholesome and dangerous concretions of moral sediments from other places.

In any view the institution of our special detective police would appear to be a mischievous anomaly. It is a sort of guerrilla force, with the powers of the regular police, without its checks and responsibilities, exacting a revenue from the public which is only limited by the estimate each officer places on his own services,

and the exigencies of those who employ them. By a practical incorporation with the regular police, they make it *possible* to evade wholesome regulations with regard to gratuities, or intercourse with prisoners, or effecting compromises to the injury of public justice, or favoring a class of low legal practitioners.

The regular force is too small to be effective as a regular police, and can only suffice to patrol the most public thoroughfares, and, as might be expected, they will generally, or used until recently, to be seen lounging at some street corner, or at the door of some grocery, as any one might have perceived, or may still perceive, in his walks about the city, unless the criticisms of the press have excited an increased activity. The men may not be blamable for this, and for aught the public knows, they may have orders to remain at certain points, like parcels at a carrier's, "till called for." Their "beats," or "walks," must be too extensive if even the business parts of the town are to be efficiently protected, to permit any adequate system of patrolling and police attentions and scrutiny, as travelers may have seen elsewhere.

The constitution of the Commission which has the supreme control of our police force is objectionable. While the exclusive direction of the operations of the force, and its executive management, should be implicitly confided to the Chief, he ought by no means to be a member of the Board of Commissioners, which should represent the general body of citizens, and to

which he, as well as the force, should be immediately responsible. Neither ought the Police Magistrate, or any elected administrative or executive officer, except the Mayor, to be a member of that board, for very obvious reasons. The relations of the Police Magistrate to the force ought to preclude direct personal connection with it as much as possible. Identified with it, he would be suspected, at least, of having too great a leaning to it for the impartial administration of justice. In fact, the constitution of the present Police Commission has too much the appearance of a close corporation—a sort of municipal star chamber, where executive and administrative influences may conspire against the public interests—to create much confidence; and its members being also popularly elected, such a connection with, and power over, the police, may give rise to other suspicions, which will naturally impair the efficiency of the force and weaken the respect for, and salutary belief in, the sacredness of law and the purity of its administration, on which the structure of all popular governments is based.

The Mayor ought to be, *ex officio*, a member of this Board, as of all other committees, as a channel of communication with the Supervisors, and as general overseer of all municipal matters. The other members should be appointed by the Board of Supervisors from among the most intelligent and responsible citizens, and they should be entirely detached from all connection with the administrative or executive departments of our local government.

The mere suggestion of these modifications and the amalgamation of the fire and police departments, will no doubt excite prejudice and dissatisfaction among interested parties; but let any intelligent and disinterested citizen reflect a little, and he will probably see very good reasons for the change, whether it be regarded in its probable influence on the efficiency and economy of the public service, or upon local morality. It has already been shown that the objects of the two departments are similar, and that the duties of both are intermittent as the casualties of crimes or fires may require their services, leaving much unoccupied time available for other purposes. The present system of the fire department tends to create a large class of young men with desultory habits and fond of excitement, and whose services being voluntary, they are apt to feel little public responsibility, though eager enough to exert their energies on occasions—and in many ways it fosters an *esprit de corps*, which might be as inimical as serviceable to the public interests. There is a superabundance of physical energy in this department which might be conserved and diverted to more profitable ends for the public and themselves. Altogether there are more than a thousand active members and officers of the fire companies, nearly all of whom are or ought to be engaged in some business or other, with which their duties as firemen must materially interfere. But without going into details, some of these practical results will be apparent to any

one who reflects, and who is in the habit of passing by the several engine houses, where a number of active young men will generally be seen hanging about the doors or in the sumptuous rooms attached to these establishments.

It is not intended to enter into the details of the operations of the proposed amalgamated force, but simply to advocate an arrangement which is at once natural and advantageous, and which has been found elsewhere to be the most efficient and economical in practice. Of course, if such an amalgamation were effected, there would always be a number of trained firemen on duty as policemen in the streets, and if hose were at hand, and a proper pressure in the main water pipes secured, by attaching the hose and hydrants, fires in many cases could be instantly extinguished without engines or reels. But the advantages will be more apparent as the constitution and mode of working the force shall be considered, as it exists in practice in another seaport.

If the plan here suggested were adopted, the police force would have to be increased probably, say to two hundred men, one hundred or any other number of whom might be drilled and trained as firemen. The force would be immediately directed by a chief, assisted by two superintendents, who should each have charge of divisions, say one the north, the other the south division, but who should alternate in night and day duty, and consequently visit the men on duty

throughout the city, advising and directing, as might be necessary, These divisions would have to be subdivided into four night sections each, and these sections would have to be divided into beats. The eight night sections would form four day sections, two for each division. There would be required twelve inspectors, or "captains," if it is thought a better appellation, (though the fewer military terms used in a civic force perhaps the better) eight of whom, one for each section, would be on night duty. At night, all the denser parts of the town would be completely covered by policemen, who would constantly perambulate their beats, and those parts of the city and suburbs which are more thinly inhabited should be patrolled in sufficient force to secure protection and render assistance in the case of robbery, outrages, or fires. The entire city would thus be under efficient police surveillance, which would also subserve many other useful public purposes—entirely dispensing with special local officers and any necessity, except under very special circumstances, for private watchmen, who, besides causing a great and unequal expense, have so often been implicated in robberies, or made the instruments of criminal practices, that by many they are considered rather a nuisance than a benefit. Policemen should examine all doors of warehouses, stores, or unoccupied houses, and report any found open, as will be described hereafter. Their reports should embrace every public occurrence of any importance, and all

matters likely to affect public morality, health, or convenience; and each inspector, taking notes of the reports of his men, should forward them in writing to the central office, from whence they should be immediately transmitted to the officer or department to which they apply. For instance, if any building should be reported dangerous, a report of the fact should be forwarded to the City Surveyor's office; if any conditions be discovered inimical to public health, or if sanitary regulations are infringed, it should in the same way be reported to the Health Officer or Inspector of Nuisances. In the event of robberies, an account of the articles stolen should be transmitted immediately to the central office, where a printing press should be kept, and a printer to print bills containing a description of the property, if requested by the owner, who would pay for them, these bills to be instantly circulated amongst the pawnbrokers, jewelers, etc. These intimations will perhaps be sufficient to indicate the *modus operandi*. Upon the plan here suggested, the police force would be an active, vigilant municipal agency, supervising and scrutinizing every street and alley in the city, and discovering and reporting to the several departments all matters affecting the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants, as well as criminal occurrences. It would, as has been said, be a sort of municipal providence, with vigilant eyes and active hands, watching over the safety and general interests of the city and its inhabitants, and an ever-available

means of communicating to the responsible officers all matters requiring their attention. Subordinates might thus be materially diminished, and skillful, intelligent principals only in many departments be necessary. From this sketch of the operations of the plan suggested, it will readily be perceived how the force could be made available for various purposes which must occupy special agents or be neglected.

If the utility of the plan here suggested should be conceded, the next question is its comparative cost. The amount now paid in this city to the regular police, special police, and private watchmen, and to the paid officers of the Fire Department, is about two hundred and twenty thousand dollars per annum, besides the irregular revenue from the public for gratuities, etc. Now, a well-appointed force, competent to perform every duty efficiently, could be maintained, it is believed, for less than two hundred thousand dollars per annum, besides various savings which might be effected in other departments. This force would be composed of a Chief of Police, two Superintendents, twelve Inspectors, two hundred Police Officers, including Detectives, three Clerks, one Fire Superintendent, and one Fire Inspector. Their salaries should be about as follows, viz.: Chief of Police, four thousand dollars per annum; two Superintendents, two thousand four hundred dollars each per annum; twelve Inspectors, twelve hundred dollars each per annum; one hundred first class Policemen, nine hundred dollars

each per annum; one hundred second class Policemen, seven hundred and twenty dollars each per annum; one Head Clerk, at eighteen hundred dollars per annum; two Clerks, at twelve hundred dollars each per annum; one Fire Superintendent, at two thousand four hundred dollars per annum, and a Fire Inspector, at twelve hundred dollars per annum, making, altogether, one hundred and ninety-three thousand and two hundred dollars, which, with clothing for the Inspectors and Policemen, would be within two hundred thousand dollars per annum.

The entire force should be under the immediate direction of the Chief, who should be responsible to the Police Committee and Supervisors. At fires, the Fire Superintendent should immediately direct the operations of the engines, subject, however, to the directions of the Chief. By this arrangement there would be on duty, at night, eight Inspectors and, say, one hundred and twenty men, allowing for Detectives and those employed on special duty at the Police Court and Fire Stations. In the day-time there would be on duty, during the busy part of the day and evening, one Superintendent, four Inspectors, and sixty men, patrolling the principal thoroughfares, and during the early morning hours, three Inspectors and forty men. For the protection and saving of property at fires, it would be well to form a *salvage company*, to be under the direction of the Fire Marshal, and who should be paid by the insurance companies. When a fire was discov-

ered, the Inspector and firemen on duty, in the neighborhood, would take immediate steps to extinguish it, giving the alarm, if necessary, for engines, etc. If in the night, all the firemen off duty, and the salvage company, should be called by the policemen on the beats where they reside. Alternate beats, odd or even numbers, as might be needed, should be vacated, and those in charge of firemen on duty; the vacated beats to be looked after by the policemen on adjacent beats, or as might be directed by the Inspector, so as to give a sufficient force to keep order at the fire, without leaving the city unprotected. The hand-engines, until superseded by steam, should be worked by laborers, to be paid at a certain rate per hour. This brief description will probably indicate the working of the fire police system. But the practical efficiency and economy of a system of which the one suggested is a modification suited to the condition of our city, has been tested during many years in Liverpool, England, which has nearly half a million of inhabitants, and a floating population, in constant transit, very difficult to manage, and, in fact, in many respects resembling our own condition.

In 1862 that borough and seaport covered an area of seven and three-fourths miles, and had a lineal space of streets of more than two hundred miles. The dock frontage was more than five miles in 1857, with a lineal quay space of twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-five yards, or about sixteen

miles. These docks are crowded with shipping, from all parts of the world, whose crews, of such various habits and modes, and degrees of civilization, have all to be kept in order.

The whole police force of that borough consisted of one thousand and two men, of whom only twenty-four were employed as detectives, and one hundred and fifty were firemen as well as policemen. The following account will illustrate the operations of the force in 1862.

Apprehensions for indictable offenses.....	23,941
Summoned for various offenses against By-Laws, Dock and other local acts, among which were 1,198 for street obstructions, 41 for keeping disorderly houses. and 286 for soliciting prostitution...	10,704
Total.....	<u>34,645</u>

During the same period there were 242 fires, of which —

- 93 were extinguished by the police, without reel or engine.
- 103 were extinguished by the police, with reel and engine.
- 46 were extinguished by private citizens, without reel or engine.

The police, on night duty there, as soon as they arrive at their beats, carefully examine all doors or entrances to unoccupied buildings, such as warehouses, stores, etc., and if any are found insecure, they are reported, by notes, to the owners or occupiers; and in case of much risk the “word is passed” for the warehouseman, or person in charge, whose residences are in the possession of the policeman on the beat. In 1862 one thousand three hundred and forty-four of these notes were sent. The police also report all de-

viations from the established time for lighting lamps, any that go out or are not lighted, or damaged, which reports are sent to the gas office. They report all damage to the streets, dangerous excavations or buildings, with all infractions of health regulations, nuisances, etc., to the proper officers. In 1862 there were three thousand one hundred and forty-four such reports made. They also report all disorderly houses, brothels, receiving houses, etc., and from these reports records are kept, and valuable statistics furnished of the entire criminal or suspected characters in the borough.

The Fire Brigade consisted of one Superintendent, one Inspector, and one hundred and forty-eight policemen drilled and trained as firemen. It had fifteen engines, twenty reels with hose, to attach to the main water-pipes, eight thousand five hundred and forty-four yards of hose, with suction and reel pipes, carriages, etc., and fifteen fire escapes. The cost of the Fire Department to the borough was two thousand eight hundred and seventy-one pounds, thirteen shillings and ten pence, or about thirteen thousand five hundred dollars.

The *Evening Bulletin* of the twenty-seventh of January, 1866, refers to this borough as follows—
 “Liverpool with a population of four hundred thousand, has one of the most efficient Fire Departments
 “in the world, and the entire cost to the city is only
 “one hundred and fifty thousand dollars per annum.”

The amount of cost must be a mistake, for with the wages of the policemen who do fire duty, it would not amount to more than sixty thousand dollars per annum; but, of course, this latter sum is charged to the Police Account. The actual annual expense for several years, was not more than the amount stated, which was taken from the borough accounts. The entire gross cost of the Liverpool Police and Fire departments is about three hundred and forty thousand dollars per annum for a population four times as large as this city, with the extensive docks which have been already described. According to the plan proposed, the gross cost of the two departments here would be about two hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The present gross cost of the two departments was something over one hundred and seventy thousand dollars last year. If we add fifty-three special policemen, who probably get an average of one hundred dollars per month, the total amount would probably have been nearly two hundred and thirty-four thousand dollars, besides moneys paid to policemen for special services and wages to private watchmen who could be generally dispensed with, with advantage to their employers. We should thus have at less actual cost a regular, systematized, and efficient police, to the great advantage of the city in the various ways which have been designated.

The wages of policemen in Liverpool are considerably less than one-third of the amount estimated for

this city, but in addition they have small rewards given to them by the Watch Committee, for extraordinary diligence or activity in the performance of duty, which is more than balanced by the sale of unclaimed property found or taken from thieves by the police. A similar practice might be adopted here; and it might be advantageous to form a small class of merit and length of service with a small advance of pay, which altogether would amount to but little additional expense. It is believed that at the rates of wages proposed, with the prospect of promotion or obtaining other situations to which their employment as policemen might lead, a sufficient number of eligible men for the force could be obtained. There are numbers of unemployed, active young men in this State of good character, and just suited for such positions. Being neither mechanics nor accustomed to hard labor, and disappointed in the mines, they would be glad of permanent situations at these rates and with these prospects. The police system, of which the one suggested here is a modification, is in general accord with the Metropolitan Police system which has been introduced into New York; though the Metropolitan system does not embrace a Fire Brigade, and, being controlled by Commissioners, appointed by the State Government, it is not so strictly municipal as the Liverpool Police system, which for many reasons appears to be exactly adapted to this city, whose geographical position and social peculiarities now present so many points of resem-

blance to that commercial emporium, and whose rapid progress and ultimate destiny will probably make the analogy more complete.

With regard to the superior efficiency of a Police Fire Department, the following extract from the report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1862, which had been appointed to inquire into the fire arrangements of the City of London and suburbs forming the metropolis, may perhaps appear conclusive; for on so important a subject, affecting a city which is proverbially opposed to change in its municipal system and where fire insurance companies with such enormous interests at stake would demand the fullest investigation, its inquiries would naturally be exhaustive. It recommends—"That a Fire Brigade "be formed under the superintendence of the Commissioners of Police, on a scheme to be approved by the "Secretary of State for the Home Department, to form "part of the general establishment of the Metropolitan "Police; that in framing the necessary scheme, regard "be particularly given to the arrangements of Liver-
"pool."*

* Since these "observations" were handed to the printer, the act providing for a paid Fire Department, has been published, and there would appear to be rather a singular coincidence in the amounts of salaries therein provided and the amounts herein proposed for the police; tending, however, in that respect to justify these recommendations which, if adopted, would secure both services, as it is believed, with greater efficiency, to the extent of the number of firemen, and at the *same cost* to the public. A thorough inquiry into details would show a much greater practical saving with equal or greater efficiency, for instance, in the large item for the purchase and keep of horses, which if belonging to

Not only in this respect, however, but in those various services which the police of Liverpool perform for the public benefit, beyond its immediate duty of preventing and detecting crime, it is more economical and efficient as a general municipal agency, than the Metropolitan Police, excellent as that is, as every one who has visited London must admit; but, being governed by Commissioners appointed by the National Government, it is not so intimately identical with municipal interests as the police of Liverpool, which is governed by a Watch Committee of twenty-five

the Department, would be generally idle, and require to be exercised. The method adopted at Liverpool, is to have the engines "horsed" by contract, by an extensive contractor, who also contracts to supply carts and horses for cleansing and repairing streets, etc. Of the fifteen engines belonging to that fire establishment, seven were kept at a central station and the remainder distributed among other stations where they would be most likely to be wanted. In close proximity to these stations, the contractor had stables, and a sufficient number of horses ready harnessed, night and day, to start one or two engines instantly, when needed, and a sufficient number ready to be harnessed and drag off whatever further number might be required. It is well known that, at the commencement of a fire, if a reel or hydrant were promptly available, it could often be at once extinguished, and it will readily be perceived how, with our "Fire Alarm Telegraph," that system of operation could be so adapted, with vigilant and active firemen always on the streets, as to insure the utmost dispatch and efficiency available in any fire department, and with considerably less cost to the public.

With regard to a "Fire Committee," it was supposed that the appointment of a Sub-Committee from the Police Committee, for that purpose, would naturally follow, and if additional members were elected by the insurance companies, it would be an advantage. In Liverpool the insurance companies contribute one thousand six hundred and eighty dollars per annum, towards the expense of the Fire Department. Here, if represented in the "Fire Committee," there would be stronger reasons for the public to expect some pecuniary aid from these bodies.

members, appointed by the Town Council, and who form themselves into sub-committees which attend periodically to the reports, complaints, etc. The members of this committee are business or professional men, whose interests are identical with the property of the town, and whose sympathies attach them to it. Under such general direction, the police force becomes naturally more strictly domestic and municipal, than under the arrangements of the Metropolitan force.

In connection with the consideration of the general police establishment, it is becoming of increasing importance in this city that the wharves and quays should be more strictly watched. The "harbor police," as it is called, might, as part of the police force, be arranged so as to check the juvenile pilfering and vagrancy which is prevalent there. Any one who will observe, can, by a short visit to the water front, satisfy himself of the necessity of such vigilant surveillance. In those petty pilferings which are almost openly practiced there, and other vagrant habits of so many of our juvenile population, the foundation of an extensive vagrant and criminal class is being laid which will be both troublesome and expensive, if permitted to go unchecked. One of the chief duties of the police force should be the suppression of these vagabond habits by a strict surveillance over all wandering and vagrant juveniles who roam about the city in idleness and disregard of moral restraints or obligations. In such ways, and divers others, an effective police would

supplement and aid direct moral agencies in preventing vice and reforming those already vitiated.

The Police Committee, as has been already suggested, should be appointed by the Board of Supervisors, and should be selected from among the *very best citizens, who should not be politicians nor connected with the administrative or executive branches of our local government.* It should generally oversee and regulate the force, and appoint officers on the recommendation of the Chief of Police; consider reports relating to important local matters; hear and determine complaints against the police, etc. The number ought not to be less than eight besides the Mayor.

The Chief of Police being the principal active executive officer of the city, whose general intelligence, judgment, and impartiality in the performance of his duties must so materially affect its welfare, should be as far as possible removed from all political influences. He should be nominated by the Police Committee, and appointed by the Supervisors. In immediate connection with his office should be the detective department of the police, with a printing press to print bills containing accounts and descriptions of stolen property, immediately after the discovery of robberies or thefts, and which should be rapidly disseminated by the police on street duty in all quarters where the property would be likely to be offered for sale or to be pledged. A fixed rate should be charged and prepaid by the owners, to prevent any

additional expense to the public. In addition to the immediate offices of Police and Fire Department, the offices of the Inspector of Vehicles, and Badge Porters, Inspectors of Markets and of Weights and Measures, and any others which relate to the detection of offenses or frauds against the public interest, should be attached to his office, and the officers of these departments should be under his supervision and direction.

The Chief of Police should be responsible for the impartial execution of police duty and the general order and efficiency of the force, to the Police Committee and Supervisors, and he should nominate a sufficient number of eligible candidates for police appointment, from whom the committee should select and appoint. He should be required to visit the force at uncertain hours by day and night, and inform himself of all suspected houses and persons, or rendezvous of gamblers, thieves, or disorderly persons, and take active measures to remove or suppress them. At fires, or in case of public riot, he should take command and direct the force; but at fires, leaving the immediate direction of the engines, reels, etc., to the Superintendent of the Fire Department. He should carefully scrutinize the proceedings of his detective officers, checking all tendencies to foster vice or crime through an over-zealous endeavor to insure convictions, by always retaining the direction of their movements in important cases in his own hands. He should generally discourage all stratagems for entrapping suspected

persons into the commission of crime, unless there was the highest moral certainty of their previous guilt, and he should imperatively suppress all publicity of police acts or information to the prejudice of individuals charged with or suspected of crimes, or to the defeat of the ends of justice through the weakness and vanity of his subordinate officers. By all means in his power he should strive to preserve the purity and integrity of the force, so as to acquire and retain the confidence and sympathy of all good citizens in its operations, which should mainly be directed to the *prevention* of crime by activity and watchfulness in external duties, and rooting out the *nuclei* of vice and crime, thus reducing the necessity of purely detective measures to a minimum.

It would be impossible to suggest or enumerate the various methods and expedients by which an officer charged with such multifarious duties should discharge his obligations, and which, after all, must depend for their efficient fulfillment upon personal integrity, activity, and intelligence.

In connection with these changes in the constitution and management of the police, some alterations and extensions of the buildings attached to the institution would be necessary, and indeed a total remodeling and removal of the present city and county prison and police lock-up would seem indispensable. The city^{pr} and county prison is badly situated, and much too confined to admit of any proper system of discipline.

It is over-looked from various surrounding buildings, and its ground limits are not more than enough for a police station and bridewell for prisoners whose sentences do not exceed a week, into which it might be converted with advantage. At present, prisoners for lengthened terms are confined there, and the effect upon their health and morals must be pernicious. All that can be accomplished by the officers is no doubt done; but it is absurd to suppose that any proper classification or discipline can be carried out or sufficient exercise allowed in such a limited space. In view of the certain and rapid extension of the city, a gaol should be erected on a healthy site, somewhere about midway to the county line, either in the direction of the San Jose Railroad or the terminus of some one of the street railroads, and a prison-van fitted to a truck which will run on the rails, provided for the conveyance of prisoners to and fro. The prison should be adapted to contain at first, say, one hundred prisoners, with space and arrangements of the buildings allowing for extension. If proper police "lock-ups" were provided near the Police Court, remanded prisoners might be confined there, and none sent to the city and county gaol for less terms say than ten days.

The situation and arrangements of the present "City Hall" are objectionable in many respects. The financial and auditing departments ought not to be placed so close to the Police Court and "lock-ups," for very obvious reasons; and similar objections apply

to the Supervisors' room and offices of the city and county, Attorney's office, the Surveyor's office, the Recorder's establishment, etc. It would be convenient to have the principal public offices contiguous to each other. The offices of the City and County Attorney, as the legal adviser and agent for the city, and of the Auditor, as the general financial overseer, ought to be in close proximity to the Mayor's room. The criminal business of the city should be conducted at a sufficient distance from the general city offices to prevent annoyance. As they are at present relatively arranged, in addition to the low disorderly crowds which infest the vicinity of a Police Court, it must often be perfectly distracting to hear the ravings of insane, drunken, or disorderly prisoners. For police purposes there would be required a station and lock-up at each end of the town, and central offices, where the Chief should generally be found. It has been already suggested, that the present jail might be converted into one for the northern division, and if the amalgamation of the Fire Department with the Police should be accomplished, steam fire-engines would gradually replace most of the hand-engines, and arrangements would have to be made, which would reduce the number of detached engine houses belonging to the city, some of which could be adapted to this purpose.

It may seem premature and hazardous to venture to indicate a proper site for the public offices, courts, etc., but somewhere in the vicinity of Market Street,

say around "Union Square," or "Yerba Buena Park," would probably be the most convenient and accessible from all parts of the city, whether we regard their location in relation to the present, or prospective, limits of the city and county, being situated so that railroad lines, from all parts of the city and county, must converge near to them. Had the city taken proper measures, a site upon the latter locality would have involved no expense for ground, which now properly belongs to her; and if the rights of the city were even yet vigorously urged, equity would obtain concessions, at least, which would reduce that portion of the expense to a very small amount. The public buildings and fire-engine houses which would be vacated, it may fairly be presumed, would produce, if sold, considerably more than a sufficient amount required for these buildings; and a wise prescience would seem to dictate that these changes should not be long delayed. In addition to the almost incalculable advantages to the government of the city, in all that relates to public order and convenience, these changes once effected, will, it may be assumed, produce immediate and increasing financial economy, and this will be the more apparent the more intelligently and thoroughly the subject is investigated.

With regard to other municipal executive agencies for social improvement, which the police might efficiently aid, the first in importance, perhaps, is the institution of strict sanitary regulations as to ventilation,

cleanliness, and sufficiency of accommodation in tenements and lodging houses. No city in the world, perhaps, possesses greater facilities for the execution of a good sanitary system than this, and yet we have, in our midst, conditions of unhealthiness scarcely equalled in New York, or those older cities of Europe, which are now paying so dearly for former neglect. But these ancient towns and cities were the victims of obsolete ideas of defense against feudal marauding, etc. They were compressed within walls for protection: we are compacted by avarice and indifference. With an immense domain belonging to the city, and which its officers ought to have protected and secured for the general benefit, and with the peculiar configuration of the peninsula on which it stands, bringing, with the aid of street cars, almost every part of these lands within easy access of the extensive water front, near which laborers and mechanics are most numerous employed, there is no excuse for the sanitary condition of this city, and it is a serious reflection upon our system of local government and the community which permits its continuance. That this indifference has not been universal, the following extract from the last Report of the "Tax-Payers' Protective Union," will show.

"The subject next demanding attention, following
 "the order of the former report of your committee, is
 "the quieting titles, and the disposition of city lands,
 "outside of Larkin and Johnson streets. Your com-
 "mittee has seen no reason to alter the line of policy

“indicated in that report; and it has been, and is, taking steps to prepare a bill, in concert with the city authorities, which shall secure the rights of *actual settlers*, on terms which will yet be just to the general body of the tax-payers. The important objects which will be aimed at in the mode of settlement, which your committee would recommend, are—1st. The general quieting of titles, and the issuing of formal grants from the city to actual occupants, and, which it is anticipated, will have the effect of bringing these lands under improvement. 2d. An extended distribution of homesteads among the industrious laboring classes, and which, it is hoped, will be advantageous to the *sanitary*, and also to the *moral* condition of the community. 3d. An immediate revenue which will nearly, if not quite, relieve the city from debt; and, by increasing the quantity of taxable property, lead to a progressive diminution of the rate of taxation.

“A recent decision of the Supreme Court will remove some of the difficulties which beset a settlement of this question, within the charter line of 1851, as it is understood to define the nature of possession necessary to confer a title, under the Van Ness Ordinance, to be actual residence on and occupation of the land for practical purposes, connected with a business.”

“On this subject, and other matters requiring legislation, however, your committee propose to call a special meeting, when its plans shall have been matured.”

In accordance with this determination a bill was drawn up, and it was most exhaustively scrutinized, and altered and amended, at a general and very full meeting, where every interest to be affected by its provisions, was represented. Finally, it was presented to the Legislature by the Honorable J. McM. Shafter, but, through the influence of the large speculative claimants, and other causes, it did not pass.

In reference to this subject, it has been often urged by interested persons, that, if any such plan as that proposed by the "Tax-Payers' Union" were adopted, the working classes would not avail themselves of it; but let such interested sceptics go out early in a morning, along the Folsom Street railroad track, and see the car loads of working men coming in to their daily labor, from the "Bernal Heights," where small lots were sold sometime since for ten dollars each, and let them, on some other morning, go along the Turk Street track, which passes near to Hayes' Valley, where, it must be acknowledged, poor men have been able to obtain lots on easy terms, owing to the liberality of the proprietor, and they will be compelled to renounce their scepticism.

With her extensive property, the city would be competent and perfectly justified in ordaining that every habitation should possess an area of space sufficient for thorough ventilation, cleanliness, and the recreation of children, compelling them, in fact, as to these conditions, to be *homes* in the true sense of that word so

dear in its associations to all branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. That some such provision is necessary any intelligent and impartial person, who will ascend either Telegraph or Russian Hill and look down upon the dense, confused, and crowded mass of houses and shanties beneath him, will be inclined to acknowledge; and, if he makes a more minute examination of the condition and capacities of the dwellings and lodging houses along Dupont, Kearny, Broadway, Pacific, and Jackson streets, he will become the more convinced of it. Whole families can there be found living in the back rooms of mere shanties, without pure air or any proper convenience for cleanliness. But this is not all. Within the area designated, there are sections in which, if all the children belonging to the families occupying lodgings or tenements were at once together in the streets, which is their only play-ground, there would not be much more than standing room. A nearly similar condition exists in some parts at the southern end of the city, where the houses, being built on "made ground" and over a morass, making efficient drainage almost impossible, unhealthy exhalations must constantly deteriorate the general health, particularly among children. Now it may very properly be asked, what can be expected but that children, vigorous enough to be reared under such conditions, will grow up physically and morally vitiated and stunted? See Professor James Blake's address on the management of children before the Toland Medical Institute, for illustrations of infant mortality.

To anticipate the baneful results of our insalubrious conditions before remedies become impossible, except at a ruinous expense and in such imperfect substitutes and make-shifts for *homes* as are being devised in Paris, London, New York, and other large cities, which besides being enormously expensive are in reality little better than caravansaries where families *lodge*, but can never realize the ideal of home, which both in Old and New England has contributed so much to public virtue and individual independence, is our highest wisdom and our plainest duty.

That this proposal may cause a general out-cry among a certain speculative class of property-holders, is to be expected, but let the most misanthropic and selfish landlord reflect upon the consequences of such indifference and acquisitiveness, and he may perceive how deeply the permanent interests of himself and his family or relations are involved in the issue. When the cost of prisons, workhouses, and hospitals, rendered necessary by the vagrancy, pauperism, and disease which are invariably engendered by such conditions, is reckoned up; when the risks from contagious epidemics and the insecurity of property consequent upon the continuance of such pest-holes in his own neighborhood are calculated, he may perhaps hesitate to brave the retribution which an invariable and inexorable law visits upon such cupidity and neglect.

But further: in situations where to appearance the width of the streets and the character of the buildings

indicate better conditions, the exigencies or the parsimony of tenants have crowded several families into houses suited only for one or two small ones at most—a practice which ought to be checked by official interference.

To prevent the inevitable social deterioration from these causes, should be one of the paramount duties of a municipal government, whatever opposition it may encounter from interested and selfish persons. To provide against the sanitary effects of ignorance and selfishness—to protect the poor and weak against the avarice of the rich and selfish, and these last against themselves—to secure to all the utmost amount of comfort that external conditions can influence—should be its primary objects. In relation to the subject under consideration, an imperfect rudimentary agency for promoting the public health exists already in this city. To make it efficient it would require to be remodeled, its powers to be increased, and to be aided by the police, as previously suggested.

In immediate relation to this branch of municipal government may be classed the regulation of the public markets, and slaughter houses, etc.; the inspection of articles of food, wines, liquors, etc.; inspection of weights and measures; inspection of buildings, and all other agencies for securing the general public against whatever endangers the public health, or would cause injury through the covetousness or carelessness of individuals.

It would extend these observations too far to attempt to elaborate a system for these purposes in all its details, and it will perhaps be sufficient to indicate its necessity, character, and objects, and vouch for its feasibility and great practical utility, no less in the attainment of the immediate purposes of its adoption, than to a sagacious financial policy, as has been already indicated.

In these, as in all other matters affecting the public welfare, the police should be ever watchful and active aids, reporting to the special officers directing the several departments, and thus supplying the place of a number of departmental subordinates.

The drainage and sewerage of the city are immediately connected with this department, and these objects and the grading and repairing of streets seem to be effected by a very anomalous, circuitous, and uncertain method, impeding the execution of necessary work at the option of a few property-holders, and arraying one set of property-owners against another, as their real or supposed interests impel them. By appealing, and giving power to particular property interests, a chronic state of dissatisfaction and difference is excited where harmony would secure efficiency and lessen expense. Under the present system property-holders and Supervisors are worried by the importunities of interested contractors, who wish to procure "jobs ;" and, the action of these several parties being independent and disconnected, the public streets pre-

sent a sort of mosaic of various kinds of pavement, interspersed with holes and fissures, inconvenient if not dangerous to vehicles on the open street, and annoying to pedestrians on the sidewalks.

It were useless to pursue this question into details. Those acquainted with the subject will appreciate these intimations, and draw their own inferences. But the principle of the right of property-holders to exercise control over the expenditure of their money in the repair and paving of streets opposite to their property being fundamental in the present system, there would appear to be no good reason why an adjustment of the relative and conflicting rights, interests, and duties in these matters which have been created by the jumble of legislation, on grading, repairing streets, etc., on some equitable basis, should not be made, and a common fund created by a "highway and sewerage rate," to be assessed upon property and derived from the municipal treasury, for the portion which devolved upon the general public, and a "Highway Board" be appointed by the property-holders and the Supervisors in proportions, according to their respective interests, who should have the control of the opening, repairing, and cleaning of public streets, constructing sewers, etc. Such an arrangement would at least secure uniformity and promptitude, and be more economical, and would obviate many difficulties and obstructions which churlish and obstinate property-holders have the power to interpose to the efficiency of the street department.

One of the most interesting institutions attached to the municipality is the Industrial School, or reformatory for juvenile delinquents. The history of its erection has been already alluded to, and though there are not the same objections to the site as to the original, it would perhaps have been better if a reformatory for the whole State, including San Francisco, had been established on one of the islands in the bay. Besides economic and other more general advantages, it would have been more isolated and secure and afforded greater facilities for instructing the boys in seamanship — a great advantage in getting them employment as sailors on board vessels, an occupation generally suited to the restless and roving dispositions of such boys, and which, by detaching them from pernicious influences and associations, would materially further the great end of the institution.

But in any situation the system which experience has proved, perhaps more conclusively than any moral experiment ever tried, is what is called the "Family System," already referred to. This plan, as previously stated, originated in a very humble way in what is called the Rauhen Haus at Horn, near to Hamburg in Germany. It has been copied and is generally followed in most European countries, the largest establishment on this principle being the "Colonie Agricole" at Mettray, France, where there are generally a large number of boys, and it has been urgently recommended by American educators, and philanthropists who have

witnessed its operations. It is simple and efficient, costs less than any other system, and may be variously modified. It is so elastic, so to speak, in its plan that it can be suited to almost any number of juveniles without the large expense of building which a small number would require on the concentrated plan, as it may be called, which we have adopted, whilst avoiding the evils attending on such large collections of boys. A single cottage, or a collection of detached dwellings, with a central building for a church and general purposes, resembling a rural hamlet as the numbers might require, are all the buildings necessary. To each dwelling it is a good plan, and practiced in one institution at least, to have in addition to the kitchen-garden sufficient ground to afford a small lot to each boy to be cultivated or neglected as he pleased, allowing him whatever profit it yielded to appropriate for his use as he desired. The entire arrangements and working should resemble the hamlet with its outlying farm and central "green" for general recreation under the supervision of the principal on special occasions.

In this, as in other matters alluded to in these observations, it is impossible to go into minute details. Sufficient is explained, it may be hoped, to indicate a mode or system, so that their merits and adaptation to specific conditions can be easily estimated. If it should be thought advisable to attempt any modification of this system in our local institution, another object might perhaps be effected in the process of some consequence to the city.

The numerous and excellent voluntary charities which exist in this city will not supersede the necessity of an almshouse, nor relieve the public from its responsibility to provide for old and infirm persons who may have neither means nor relatives to support them. And we may already perhaps perceive the advent of such a measure in the institution of the "San Francisco Benevolent Society," which has so wisely and efficiently concentrated the promiscuous charity, which, amongst some good, too often encouraged idleness and vagrancy. The purposes of an almshouse might perhaps be effected in the process of remodeling the Industrial School, if it should be thought advisable to modify its arrangements to suit the "Family System," with possible advantage and economy to the public. A portion of the present Industrial School buildings might be appropriated for an almshouse, retaining the central officers' room for divine worship, and rooms for other general purposes of the reformatory, and erecting plain useful houses on the family system around the grounds, and using any of these aged and poor people to subserve many useful purposes in connection with the school. Thus they might, in the general garden on the farm, as porters, etc., and it might be hoped in the Sabbath-school, and under proper regulations as visitors to, or it might be residents in, some of the houses, satisfactorily accomplish much that otherwise would have to be paid for.

The idea is a new one — probably unique — but so are our conditions ; and many good and capable men are here suddenly reduced to poverty, who might be very useful in this way, and who would be glad thus to pay for the benefits they receive, and be relieved from the *ennui* of that mode of existence. At any rate, it is but a suggestion, and however it might work, such an amalgamation of youth and age, it may be hoped, would be mutually beneficial, and is in accordance with the conditions of ordinary life, where the gravity and experience of age modify the reckless impetuosity of youth, and the vivacity and hopefulness of the young cheer the gloom and dreariness of the old.

The general direction of all this municipal executive machinery which has been attempted to be reviewed, however imperfectly, is centered in the Board of Supervisors, and it would therefore be only appropriate that it should be composed from the very best elements existing in the community ; and the most upright, intelligent, and public-spirited citizens being selected for the office, the Board should possess adequate legislative and executive powers, and exercise a complete and general authority in all municipal concerns. Whatever the limitations of their power to legislate in municipal affairs, or to appropriate money in special cases, if they are proper men for the office, they should surely be entrusted with sufficient discretionary authority to protect the city's interests, and to regulate all matters of purely local concern. Sufficient has

already been said upon the absurd minuteness of many of the provisions of the "Consolidation Act" to indicate the impediments it imposes to the efficiency of this body. Instead of being the mere agents and registrars of the State Legislature in matters where they ought to have the initiative, it would no doubt be to the benefit of the public if they possessed a wider discretion, and were legally capable of more independent action in the general direction and regulation of all local measures that immediately concern the security, health, and comfort, of the inhabitants of the city, or the general progress and well-being of society. The Supervisors should appoint the Commissioners of Police, and have the confirmation of their nominations to the superior officers of Chief of Police and Superintendents, and it would be of advantage to the administration of justice and the execution of the laws if they had power to make some other appointments.

To prevent any tendency to collusion, and to induct and familiarize our best citizens with municipal affairs, the Board of Supervisors should be more numerous, and should consist of not fewer than twenty-four members. Thirty-six would perhaps be better, so that sufficiently large committees might be appointed, without making the duty too onerous. The Mayor being the chief municipal officer, must of course have the general oversight of all departments of the city government, and have access to all public reports, proceedings, or information, contained in, or received by, any

municipal office. He should be, *ex officio*, a member of all committees of the Board of Supervisors and of the Police Committee. He should be in confidential communication with the heads of departments, more especially with the City and County Attorney and the Auditor, whose combined duties require a knowledge of all public transactions, the one in their legal and the other in their financial capacity. He should be, also, in intimate confidential communication with the Chief of Police, relative to all matters concerning the order and security of the municipality.

The City and County Attorney should be required to devote his whole time and attention to the public service; in fact, this should be a condition with every paid *regular officer of the corporation*. He should acquire a thorough knowledge, through the Public Surveyor and police, of all property belonging to the city, and of any circumstances affecting it, and advise and direct the legal measures necessary for its protection. To him, as well as to the Public Surveyor, the police should report all damage to, or intrusions upon, public property. He should have access to all public records, reports, or other sources of public information, which may be necessary to the efficient performance of his duty, as Attorney and Counselor for the city. All the law officers, permanently employed by the city, should be attached to his department, and he should, in all public matters, be the special and confidential legal adviser of the Mayor.

The City and County Surveyor should have full knowledge, and a complete account, of all public property, and he should inspect it from time to time. He should have general cognizance of the street grades, sewerage, condition of streets and buildings. The police should report to him any invasions of public property, and to his department should be attached the Superintendent of Streets, Inspector of Buildings, Health Officer, Inspector of Nuisances, and all similar agencies of the municipality. Attached to the Health Office should be the offices of the Inspectors of Provisions, Liquors, etc.

These remarks being intended to apply principally to those executive branches of the municipal government which directly, and generally by coercive means, are designed to protect life and property and to advance and foster public morality and happiness, any further suggestions would perhaps be superfluous. Such as have been made are hazarded with an entire freedom from any conscious influence, except a single desire for the good of the whole community and its progress in virtue and material prosperity. They are the results of observation and comparison and some practical acquaintance with the tendencies and results of the various measures discussed under analogous conditions of institutions and social circumstances. As regards the police, fire, and health departments, they are mainly adaptations of the system in practice in Liverpool, England, or which were in practice

three years ago, and which were planned and adopted after the passage of the Municipal Reform Bill, thirty years ago. The condition of that large seaport is similar to our own in many respects. Its methods of municipal government were originally established and have received any subsequent modifications which have been made in them, under the supervision of common-sense business men, who have directed its municipal affairs with such remarkable success and economy as to make it a model for other places.* Its relations to the national government bear a close analogy to our own *theoretical* relations to the State Government. With other large cities in England and Scotland, as London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, etc., its system of government has been in harmony, and they have inter-communicated to the advantage of each and all. Whatever differences of political relations there may be in communities, efficient social management requires very similar execu-

* With regard to the financial economy of the general system which has been suggested, it may be stated once for all, that if the branches of the municipal service to which these "observations" refer, were regulated with reference to a general result; dove-tailed, so to speak, into each other, as suggested, for the police, fire, street, and other departments, making the police force the basis of action—in fact, as intelligent principals would arrange and manage their own affairs—the total cost of these departments could be greatly reduced, probably one-third, in the aggregate, with all the increased efficiency and public benefit contemplated by the changes and modifications proposed. What reductions, if any, in the cost of other departments of the City Government, the assessing and collection of taxes, etc., might be made by such preconcert and inter-action, may be inferred by those familiar with their details, but that question is not within the scope of these "observations."

tive arrangements in countries founded on the Anglo-Saxon idea of representative government, only, as has already been intimated, the greater the amount of political freedom, it becomes the more necessary to secure the highest qualifications in public officers — to arm them with more stringent power for the prevention of public abuses, to hold them strictly accountable for its exercise, and to obtain by *organization* all possible security against official abuses.

With regard to the reformatory measures proposed, they have been derived from institutions in various countries, where their efficiency has been most severely tried, and which have been found quite successful.

In conclusion, it may be hoped that these observations, whatever their intrinsic value, may at least draw forth criticisms and plans, suggesting new ideas on these important subjects, and that out of a free and open discussion, practical principles, founded in a true estimate of executive influences, may be eliminated, to the present and future advantage of this interesting city, which seems destined to occupy so important a position among the great cities of the world, and to exercise a paramount influence upon the social condition of, and progress of civilization upon, the Pacific coast.

It may be thought premature to advance the idea of establishing an "Association for the advancement of social science," in so young a community; but if the rapidity with which ideas are now developed, and the

highly intelligent character of the cosmopolitan population of this city especially, and of other cities on this coast, are considered, it may perhaps appear that such a center of information and intelligence, deriving a thorough knowledge of the teachings of social experience from a variety of the most reliable sources, is even more necessary here, to guide and direct the process of social development, and to prevent errors and abuses, than in older countries, where its mission was mainly to remedy the consequences of mistakes which it should be our place to avoid.

Pioneers in the westward march of civilization, radiant with a progressive social science which is being gradually evolved out of the tentative errors, the controversies, and complications of former processes, with our pathway illuminated by converging rays of experience from all ages and countries, and which we appear destined to reflect upon the cloud of Asiatic formalism which shrouds the opposite continent; with the whole cycle of social development wherefrom to cull our models, and with no restraints upon the free exercise of our interpretations of duty, we occupy the post of honor in the general advance, and are placed by an All-wise directing Providence in the most favored and therefore most responsible position for accelerating its beneficent designs in the amelioration of our race. So instructed, endowed with such privileges, it becomes pre-eminently our duty, as it is our highest interest, intelligently to construe and faithfully to exe-

cute the trust devolved upon us, and by the exercise of a docile prevision avert the fate of those opulent and luxurious cities whose arts embellish but whose morals disfigure the municipal and commercial history of the world.

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